

The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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NOTICE.

Persons who are unable to secure The New Nation at their local news-stands will confer a special favor upon us by promptly informing us of the fact, in order that we may see that they are supplied hereafter. At the same time we wish to call the attention of all our friends to the fact that the way to save money and trouble, both for themselves and for us, is by sending in their subscriptions, either for a year or a less period, according to our terms announced.

We don't understand why the corporation lawyers should profess to hate us nationalists. In point of fact, nationalistic propositions have made brisk business for them, with constant retainers and fat fees from their clients, the corporations, whom we have put upon their defense. If the nationalist cause lacked money or rather if it depended on money for its strength, the corporation lawyers could afford to chip in very handsomely to keep it going. Why

profess to dislike us, gentlemen, when you owe us so much? But of course that is all right. "It is business."

Railroad Men Declared to Have no Right to Resign.

Last summer the bloodshed at Homestead and the concentration there and subsequently at Buffalo of great military forces to overawe discontented workingmen and sympathetic populations, attracted the attention of the country and of the world to the magnitude and imminence of an industrial crisis in America.

Events have occurred within a few days at Toledo, Ohio, which while less spectacular in character, must be regarded as perhaps even more significant of the nearness of the crisis. The manner in which the plutocracy is forcing the fight indicates indeed either a feeling of desperation or an amazing over-confidence.

For a fortnight the engineers and firemen of the Toledo Ann Arbor and Northern Michigan railroad have been on strike. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers endorsed the strike and in accordance with the rule of the organization, the engineers of connecting lines have refused to handle Ann Arbor freight. Last week Friday, on application of the road, Judge Taft of the United States Circuit court, granted an order requiring President Arthur of the Brotherhood of Engineers to release the engineers from the operation of the above brotherhood rule by declaring it non-operative.

This was a sufficiently extraordinary step, but President Arthur obeyed. Friday night of last week several Lake Shore engineers and firemen at Toledo, having been ordered to take out trains containing Ann Arbor cars, resigned their positions, being careful not to state the ground of their action. Upon this the attorney of the Lake Shore telegraphed to Cleveland for Judge Ricks of the United States district court to come to Toledo and brought him there by special train.

The judge on arriving at Toledo Saturday, immediately had the eight engineers and firemen who had committed the crime of resignation arrested and brought before him. He then delivered an opinion, which by common account of the

press of the country is declared "unprecedented," to the effect that they must show cause why they should not be attached for contempt of court in resigning their positions, after the issuance of Judge Taft's order as to handling freight. The opinion, given elsewhere in this issue, consists in the ruling that railroad employees are engaged in a semi-public business and cannot cease work at will, but only at such times and places as in the opinion of the courts may not interfere with railroad service, which amounts to saying that they can stop working only when it suits the convenience of their employers.

Since then Judge Ricks has addressed a circular order to each one of the 200 engineers and firemen of the Wheeling and Lake Erie railroad running out of Toledo, personally ordering them not to refuse to handle Ann Arbor cars. The Ann Arbor officials declare that every man who leaves his engine will be arrested.

As might be supposed the action of Judges Taft and Ricks has produced tremendous sensation throughout the country. If their ruling prevails there is a large class of businesses to which it can be at once applied, as for example to all natural monopolies such as street railroads, lighting and water companies. The same law can be ultimately extended logically to all sorts of occupations on which the public service or comfort is in any way dependent.

If the ruling is good law, it is the death blow to trade-unionism and labor organizations of any sort. It ends the industrial struggle by striking from the hands of one of the combatants its only weapon, the strike, that is to say the concerted refusal to work until grievances are redressed.

There has hitherto been no move in the war of organized capital upon organized labor, at once so audacious in conception and so far-reaching in possible results as this ruling. If it holds good, involuntary servitude, abolished by Lincoln's proclamation in 1863, will again have been legalized in our land.

What is to be done about it? The answer is very simple and it is the only answer. The corporations want to be regarded as public businesses in order the better to get their employees under their thumbs. Very good. Give them their own medicine. Make them public businesses by bringing them under national ownership and operation, and thus under responsibility to the people as directors. When the employee can control his occupation by the ballot he can dispense with the strike. It is a poor rule that does not work both ways; there can be no such thing as public employees of private corporations. Judge Ricks' ruling points straight to nationalism. Its logic fully carried out means the elimination of the capitalist.

The first effect of the rulings will be, as already seems to be generally admitted, to convert all the railroad men in the country into intense believers in railroad nationalization. If they are going to be held to be public employees they are going to demand the advantages as well as the responsibilities of public employees.

That is what is coming, and it is coming soon. Nationalism is the only way out for any of us. The trusts, the militia and the courts are bound to drive the people into it, whether they will or no.

Time for an Independent Municipal Party to Protect Boston Interests.

Has not the time arrived when the interests of Boston demand the entrance into municipal politics of an independent party, having for its express purpose a resistance to further plundering and exploitation of the citizens through corporation control of the public utilities, especially with immediate reference to light and transit? Parties grow and are not made and their growth cannot be forced, but we ask serious consideration for the query whether the intolerable condition of the lighting and transit systems of the city and suburbs and the pressing necessity of adopting new systems and policies in both respects do not suggest sufficient occasion for a party pledged to a single-minded devotion to the public interest which it is vain to expect from either of the old parties.

Mayor Matthews has indeed proposed a municipal electric lighting plant for the public purposes of the city, for which, if he backs it up in a manner to show that it is not a mere sop to public discontent, he will deserve credit; but the gas corporation is the most important branch of the lighting monopoly here in Boston and the mayor shows no intention to interfere with that except in a roundabout, partial and perhaps wholly ineffectual manner, by trying to bring in a competing company from Brookline. The principle of competition is dead wrong in these natural monopolies as every one knows. There should be but one service and one plant and the only proper way to meet the exactions of such a service when it is a private monopoly is for the city to take it over.

As to the promise of a cheaper gas from the competing company, introduced by the mayor, the people do not seem to be intoxicated by it. It is not uncommon for companies to reduce the price of gas, but it is very uncommon as a consequence for customers to find their monthly bills reduced. It has been testified by competent authorities at legislative hearings in this state and so far as we have been able to ascertain is uncontradicted, that it is possible to make meters register any desired consumption although not a jet has been lighted, simply by alternately increasing and reducing the pressure in the mains, thus forcing the gas through the meters and back and taking advantage of the fact that it registers only one way.

It is painful to think that any one would take advantage of this immoral characteristic of the meter, but the theory certainly fills a long felt want in accounting for the persistent indisposition shown by meters to give practical effect to the benevolent professions of the presidents of gas companies. We trust that the Brookline gas people are altogether better than others engaged in that much suspected business, but the only way to make nominally cheap gas really cheap and to make the people believe they get what they pay for is for the city to furnish it. Mayor Matthews' attitude thus far gives little hope of any action from him on the lighting question at all adequate to the emergency.

As to the far more vital rapid transit question, the mayor's project, elsewhere editorially discussed, is discouraging to those who have been trying to think him a really progressive man. He proposes to turn over a 30-year franchise for rapid transit to a private company and in addition that the city shall spend 16 million dollars and give away a slice of

the common to furnish the company the opportunity to build its road and make its pile.

So much for the attitude of the local democracy, as represented by its supposedly most progressive man. As for the republican municipal party, no ground exists for expecting anything better from it, if anything as good.

The seriousness of the crisis in our transit system is intensified by the probability that the West End surface monopoly is about to be absorbed by the North Shore Traction company, a foreign syndicate. Now the West End is a pretty tough customer as a corporation, and its methods have been very bad, but the sentiment, thin as it is, of "home management" has helped it over many hard places. When the change to management by and for a Philadelphia combination shall take place, the personal popularity of President Whitney, which has done much to ameliorate the constant friction between the company and the people, can no longer be counted on. Instead of the suave and eloquent explanations of Mr. Whitney which, without really explaining anything, make his critics feel as if they were mean fellows, we shall have the coldly brutal relation of a foreign despotism exacting tribute from a dependent population, without pretense of any other purpose than to tax the traffic "for all it is worth."

Are we not then in presence of an emergency which calls for the organization of a new political body in Boston to protect the interests of the people at a juncture when policies are being decided upon, alike important to proletarian and property-holder and destined to vitally affect the welfare of the entire community for a generation to come?

The new party should represent no class and no "ism"; it should represent all classes and appeal to all. It should be a one-plank party and that plank should explicitly demand the public ownership and operation of public utilities for the public benefit, such ownership and operation to be municipal or metropolitan, by city government or special commission as most convenient, and under strict civil service regulation in all cases.

Such a plank, relating only to local matters and freed from implications with state or national politics or parties, would, we believe, if it could be presented today to the people of Boston on a referendum yes or no vote, command a majority of the people. It would be a proposition on which all bodies of social, industrial and economic reformers and all labor organizations and their sympathizers could heartily unite with the most conservative class of intelligent citizens, following the guidance of the soundest of modern political economists and the most approved precedents in other countries.

Such a party it is needless to say should be run by no organization or clique or set, or in any ulterior interest beyond the advancement of its single principle, and at its head should be men of solidity and standing whom the people can trust.

It should be neither a republican, a democratic or people's party, nor yet a nationalist or workingmen's party, but a citizen's party calling for common action in the common interest with a definite and distinctly understood program.

Is it not time for such a party? If so, we shall have it.

Mayor Matthews' Rapid Transit Scheme.

Mayor Matthews of Boston had a hearing last week before the rapid transit committee of the Legislature upon an elaborate plan brought forward by him for an elevated rapid transit system in this city.

According to this proposition the city is to make a way for an elevated line beside Tremont street, the net cost of opening this line in damages and otherwise being estimated at 15 million dollars. This the city is to pay. Is then the city to go on and build and run the road so as to get back its enormous outlay on the opening or at least interest on it? Oh, no! Not at all! That would be a step toward nationalism. The city having sunk 15 million dollars in preparing to run an elevated system, is to draw out just at the point when the remunerative part of the undertaking begins. The franchise for constructing and operating the road is to be sold to a private company. The cost of the construction and equipment of the road is put at six million dollars. That is to say the city is to pay three fourths of the total cost of the undertaking and get nothing (except the rental of the company, which we may be sure will be put at a very trifling figure), while the company, investing one fourth of the total cost will pocket all the profits.

It is true the mayor proposes that all the profits over eight per cent shall be divided between the company and the city, if not expended for improvements, but he is frank enough to admit that the city is not likely to get much this way, and he is right. If the managers of the company do not contrive to inflate their stock on one plea or another fast enough to swallow up all the profits, though they might reach 100 per cent, they will be a very fresh sort of corporation directors indeed.

Ah, but we have not yet mentioned one feature of the plan. This is the rich plum offered the people to induce them to consent to spend the money and get none of the profits. At the end of 30 years "or so," as the mayor lightly puts it, the entire plant of the railroad is to become the property of the city. Let us see what this proposal amounts to. Supposing the road is capitalized at just what it cost, instead of three times as much, as it certainly eventually would be, and that it earns not over eight per cent for thirty years. This amounts to 240 per cent, twice and a half the cost of the property. That is to say the people of Boston after paying by their car fares twice and a half the entire cost of the road besides all operating expenses and repairs meantime, are to have it delivered over to them at the end of a generation. Truly a dazzling prospect! For the sake of such an astonishing bargain as this, surely Bostonians ought not to object to paying the trifling bonus of 15 million dollars to be sunk in street opening as a preliminary to being let into the deal.

Nationalists are known to be very impractical sort of people and therefore we must be excused for being so visionary as to suggest that the people of Boston have long been of full age, and if they are going to be fit to run an elevated system 30 years from now, they are fit now, and if they can afford to pay twice and a half times the cost of the road in order to get it 30 years hence, they are able to pay its cost once now.

What Boston needs and must have is a transit system

owned and operated by the people for the people, and Boston is going to have it before this agitation is done with. If a company can afford to carry the people at a profit, the people can't afford to have it, for that profit represents precisely the saving in fares they would make by carrying themselves. There is the whole argument in a nutshell and there never was a corporation lawyer clever enough to get around it and never will be.

THE MINERS' WAY OUT.

The Pittsburg Kansan has this to say about the miners:

"The Kansan has more than once voiced the idea that the remedies proposed in this district and state for the evils under which miners suffer are wholly inadequate and insufficient.

"Screen and weekly pay bills, anti-truck store and anti-scrip laws would at best be mere palliatives, and mine owners would soon learn how to evade them, or they would invent new ways to maintain their present advantages.

"While our miners are wasting their money and energies on these doubtful reforms, the miners of Colorado boldly attack the very citadel of their grievances and demand unconditional surrender.

"They propose a remedy that cures, a solution that solves, and the only one that has ever been proposed that goes to the root of the matter — namely, state ownership and operation of the mines.

We have before us the Denver News, which contains a lengthy memorial from the labor organizations of that state to the Ninth General Assembly of Colorado, from which we clip the preamble and demand, which read as follows: 'The undersigned, your memorialists, acting in joint legislative committee, and under the authority of their various industrial organizations, petition your honorable body for the following legislation: First. — A law authorizing the state to operate its own coal mines; to transport the products thereof to market and to sell the output to consumers at a price not exceeding the cost of production by more than 25 cents per ton; the selling price above the cost of production to be turned into the internal improvement fund after the state has been reimbursed for the first cost of opening the mines.'

"There it is in a nutshell. State ownership is the only remedy worth considering, because when once secured it is final and complete.

AS OTHERS SEE US.

The Los Angeles (Cal.) Herald has interviewed Leon Flutener, a well-to-do Swiss merchant traveling in this country. Mr. Flutener does not think we Americans have much to brag of in the way of a free country, and we confess to sometimes feeling the same way ourselves. Mr. Flutener said:

"The United States is looked upon all over Europe with great admiration and respect. I find much here, however, that disappoints me. It is true that nine out of ten of your families find it hard to make both ends meet. Rents, interest, taxes, high-priced clothing and other necessities make it essential for your middle and lower classes to labor almost from the cradle to the grave. Your Rockefeller

gives a million dollars to a Baptist college and then raises the price of coal oil and gets his million back out of the pockets of the people. Your Mr. Stanford founds a university and follows Mr. Rockefeller's example by charging all the traffic will bear. In the eastern states hundreds freeze to death with mountains of coal in sight. You must admit you have a curious kind of a republic.

"In California I find thousands and thousands of acres of land uncultivated and unused. Under your fine system some old men and old women are able to keep the millions of land-hungry people from owning or even renting the broad acres which the monopolists have fenced in and neither sell, improve or use in any way. Los Angeles could support a half million people if the ranches north of you alone were broken up.

"As you gather from my conversation, I am not at all sure that Americans need to feel any great pride over their country. It is better than Europe, but it is drifting to class government very fast. My experience in my pedestrian tour South will show you how free your people are. Dressed in a rough suit and often dust and mud stained, I did not look very far removed from a tramp. I asked no favors, paid for what I got, and yet on four occasions I was halted by constables, rudely asked my business, and it was only too plain that they were eager to make a fee out of me as a vagrant. In this alleged free country of yours I find it is a crime to walk your highways and ask for work; and furthermore, it seems that the rural constables and justices, to use an American phrase, pool their issues and consider it a crime for a man to walk at all. In a little town in Ventura county a constable actually arrested me, and only gave up his prize reluctantly when I showed him letters from the Swiss consul and from influential friends of mine. As I walked away I said to myself: "And so this is the starry land of freedom — the home of the oppressed of all nations." I wondered as I saw an American flag flying over a California school-house if the children could grow up to respect an emblem which represents a government that protects land monopolists and sends men to jail for walking its highways and asking for work.

"My pedestrian experience is ended. I leave for Santa Fe, N. M., tomorrow, and after spending a few months in the southern states I shall visit the world's fair and return to Switzerland."

The Massachusetts Legislature has been having a dose of nationalism the past fortnight. The hearing on the petition for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone closed on the 15th with the argument of Henry R. Legate, a portion of which appears in another column. Hearings on the proposed amendment to the public lighting law were held on the 15th and 21st, and the hearings on the bill for the public conduct of the liquor traffic by eliminating the element of profit, through salaried agents, took place on the 17th, 20th, 21st and 22d. On the last named day Mayor Henry Wiun of Malden supported the bill and explained the legal aspects of the question.

J. FOSTER BISCOE.

The First Nationalist club of Boston at its last regular meeting passed resolutions on the death of J. Foster Biscoe, one of the founders of the club and its fourth president.

"MAN'S NEEDS ARE GOD'S COMMANDS."

For truth and right we plead, and light for crying human need;
For wingless angels here in sight and famished earth we plead.
Columbia, not Jerusalem; for life this side the grave;
We kneel to touch the garment's hem of Him who died to save.

Ring out, ring out the fervent cry, "Man's needs are God's commands";

And putting strife forever by, unite with hearts and hands —
To free the wage slave; and — released — the Eden usher in,
Where each true heart is holy priest, and each true man is king.

REV. GEORGE VAUGHAN.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF THE TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE.

[Henry R. Legate before the Massachusetts joint committee on federal relations on the memorial to Congress favoring the public ownership of telegraph and telephone services.]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: —

In asking your favorable consideration of the memorial before you, I simply voice the sentiment of almost the entire community. Nor is this sentiment wholly of recent growth. For over 40 years there has been a demand for the utilization of the telegraph for cheaper, speedier and more accurate messages. Heretofore the demand has been for some method of governmental control, but the influence of the few who have made a monopoly of this useful service has been sufficient to defeat so reasonable and just a demand. Too frequent exercise of the subtle and dangerous power possessed by this monopoly, in thwarting the public will, has resulted in a demand by the people that the government shall own and operate the lines in the interest of all. It would be only a return to original conditions. The first telegraph line in this country was built with an appropriation of money from Congress, and was operated by the post office department. Postmaster-General Wanamaker truly characterizes it as an evil hour when it was surrendered into the hands of a private company.

In 1844 Henry Clay said of the telegraph: "It is quite manifest it is to exert great influence on the business affairs of society. In the hands of private individuals they will be able to monopolize intelligence and to perform the greatest operations in commerce and other departments of business. I think such an engine should be exclusively under the control of the government."

No less emphatic is the statement of Hon. Cave Johnson, postmaster-general when this surrender was made. In his report to President Polk in 1846, he said: "It becomes a question of great importance how far the government will allow individuals to divide with it the business of transmitting intelligence—an important duty committed to it by the constitution. The use of an instrument so powerful for good or evil can not, with safety to the people, be left in the hands of private individuals." Truer words were never spoken. Results have shown that his fears were well founded. Almost every postmaster-general since that time has favored a government telegraph. None of them, however, investigated the subject so comprehensively as has Postmaster-General Wanamaker. It is only fair at this time to say that he has gone no farther than to recom-

mend that the government contract with the private companies for the transmission of messages at certain fixed rates between post offices. The arguments he uses, however, apply with equal force in favor of complete government ownership and operation of the service. The following quotation from his report of 1892 is an admirable presentation of the case: "I am fully convinced that the government will never properly do the postal work committed to it until it uses electricity in some form; and therefore I advocate the utilization of both the telegraph and telephone at the earliest practicable day. To receive letters and other mail and store them away for shipment in bulk, more or less slowly, once a day or even every hour, when a wire and telegraph instrument might connect the major part of the post offices, seems an antiquated anomaly. It is true that a large part of the mails must always go by rail; but there is another considerable part that seeks quicker transit, that does not find convenient the 10,000 railroad telegraph offices, often distant from villages, that does not find the telegraph tariff within the reach of working people. The mail and the telegraph are the life currents of business, and to a large extent of social life, and the private monopoly of either system must result in creating a preferred class, to which high rates may not be objectionable. The humbler citizen must do without. It was said long ago that the telegraph must be a monopoly, and so is the postal system; but the difference is that one is operated for private gain and the other for public good. The government follows a settler across the plain and into the mines, and establishes a post office in order that his family may have letters and newspapers and be more content in a frontier home. The telegraph goes where it can find paying business only; and so it falls out that only a sixtieth part of the people of the United States, owing not to the need, but to the inconvenience and the charges, employ the telegraph. The post office helps to settle, serve and satisfy the country—literally to make the country—and of all its adjuncts the most important, that which would afford the quickest mode of communication between families near and far, apparently can not be made available in any way. The fact is that in some respects the telegraph seems to get farther and farther away as the capital and power of the corporation increase."

The facts in the case would warrant even severer language than he uses in his just arraignment of this monopoly. Let us briefly trace its growth to its present formidable proportions. In 1858 the capital stock of the Western Union was \$358,700. The stock dividends declared between 1858 and 1866, a period of only eight years, amounted to \$17,810,146, and the stock issued for new lines was \$1,937,950, making the capital stock on July 1, 1866, \$20,133,800. In that very year new stock was created to the amount of \$20,450,500, thus making the capital stock on July 1, 1867, \$40,568,300. The largest dividend declared by the company up to 1874 was 414 per cent. The largest amount of stock ever divided at one time was 10 millions, and for a period of seven years the dividends were about 100 per cent a year on its average capital. In 1874 the company bought up its own stock and the stock of other telegraph companies and accumulated a fund of 15 millions, which was held in the treasury of

the company. The following are some of the dividends declared: In 1862, 27 per cent; 1863, 100 per cent; 1864, 100 per cent. In 1878, six millions; in 1881, one of 15 millions and another of \$4,300,000. In 1886, 25 per cent. It realized 100 millions in 25 years by its extortionate charges. An investment of \$1000 in the Western Union stock in 1858 would have received up to 1890 stock dividends of more than \$50,000, and cash dividends equal to \$100,000, or 300 per cent of dividends a year. In 1890 its capital stock was \$85,960,000, but in October last there was another watery inundation which raised it to an even 100 million.

The above facts show that there has never been any change in the policy of the company from the beginning. It has driven every competitor from the field by absorption, watered its stock beyond all precedent, almost beyond belief, and stands today a monopolistic monument to the forbearance of a long-suffering people. In the postmaster-general's report of 1891 the average price received for messages is estimated at 31.6 cents, while the cost is but 22.3 cents, showing a profit of over 40 per cent.

"From the best information I have," says Postmaster-General Wanamaker, "I believe that a telegraph company could make a great deal of money on a uniform 25-cent 20-word message to all parts of the country. The increase of business on lower rates would be so large that the profits of the telegraph company, in my judgment, would not be diminished. It can not be questioned that the government, by reason of what it would save in the use of existing postal machinery, could easily by this time have afforded much lower rates than the present telegraph charges if it had continued to operate the lines it began. The people think more about these things than they are commonly supposed to do, and they are restive under conditions which they feel that the government should change."

His estimate is certainly a conservative one. Sixty-one per cent of the telegraph lines of the world are under government ownership. Excluding the United States and Canada, 95 per cent are so owned. The first telegraph company began operations in England in 1846. This was speedily followed by numerous others, and, as people became convinced of the great utility of this means of transmitting intelligence, the business grew to great proportions. Complaints of inaccuracies, excessive charges and a lack of adequate facilities soon began to be heard. In 1854, only eight years after its introduction, a plan was proposed for government ownership. This was followed by many others, each meeting with a constantly increasing public approbation.

In 1865 the Edinburg Chamber of Commerce presented a memorial to Parliament, which being widely supported by public opinion, resulted in the passage of an act July 31, 1868, to enable the postmaster-general to acquire, maintain and operate an electric telegraph. The telegraph and railway companies bitterly opposed the measure. The same objections were urged as are used in this country today. Well-paid attorneys made the usual arguments about guarding vested rights. They reveled in predictions of disaster to the government if it assumed this business. They contended that it was an arbitrary and unjustifiable interference with private interests. That the companies had inaugurated

at great risk and expense a new enterprise, the issue of which was doubtful, and now that it had become a success it savored of confiscation to take it from them. Could the public authorities, they asked, be trusted as implicitly as a private company with the innumerable secrets that were constantly passing over the wires; and was there not danger of the telegraph being used for political purposes? But their eloquence and ingenuity were of no avail. The demand of the people was heeded, and the lines passed from the control of a private monopoly for private gain, to a public monopoly for public good. The predictions of the opponents of the measure proved to be without foundation. The liberal price paid by the government for the lines disposed of their cry of confiscation. It has never been even whispered that the telegraph has been used for political purposes and the people look back with incredulity to a time when the claim was made that companies could be more safely intrusted than the state with the secrets of the wire. The secretary of the London chamber of commerce was asked for his opinion upon this point, and his answer was, "It is the general belief in Great Britain that the quickness, certainty and secrecy of the service have improved under the post office and that the overwhelming, in fact almost unanimous, feeling would be an opposition to return the telegraph to private management." Such is the opinion of a conservative business man. The result has justified every claim made by the most earnest advocate of a government telegraph. England today has the cheapest and best service in the world. There is a uniform rate of 12 cents for 12 words to any distance. The increased use of this valuable and important adjunct to the post office by the people is significant and instructive. The population of the United States is 63 per cent greater than that of Great Britain, yet for the year ending June 3, 1891, the number of telegrams sent was 66,400,000, nearly two for each inhabitant, while there were but 54,143,000 sent in the United States, not quite one for each inhabitant. In the year 1884-85, 33,278,000 messages were transmitted in Great Britain. In the year 1890-91, 66,400,000 an increase of 100 per cent in six years. In the United States in 1885, 42,096,000 messages were transmitted, in 1891, 59,148,000, an increase of only 40 per cent in the same six years. Now contrast the difference in the post office business for the same length of time. The increase in the number of letters and pieces transmitted in our post office was 65 per cent, while in Great Britain it was only 35 per cent.

Why has the telegraph business increased so much more rapidly in Great Britain than in this country? Simply because of low rates resulting from government ownership of the service in the former and its continuance as a private monopoly in the latter. It is claimed by those who oppose public ownership of services that the government never utilizes the latest inventions, and in consequence of their lack of energy or interest, better facilities for the carrying on of any business is always given by a private company. This is a stock objection. It is made to do service on all occasions when public ownership is advocated. The Western Union having a monopoly of the telegraph business has no incentive to use devices or inventions which would add to the efficiency of the service. Its aim is not to reduce rates, but to pay dividends to stockholders. In England any new

invention which will increase the efficiency of the service and thus lower the rates, is quickly made use of, and inventors receive a just remuneration for their work.

In an address before the British association for the advancement of science, in 1888, W. H. Preece, the best authority upon this subject in England, said, "The telegraph service of England has been brought to the highest pitch of perfection." He also mentioned the fact that the American newspapers heralded it as a great feat when 500,000 words were sent by our telegraph system over the wires in one night at the time of a political convention in Chicago in 1886, while 1,500,000 were sent from the central office in London in one night when Mr. Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill in 1886. While the manager of private owned telegraph lines in America are, according to general uncontradicted newspaper reports, buying inventions and locking them up lest they should benefit any one, wonderful progress has been made in the telegraph service of England. In a recent report the postmaster-general of Great Britain says: "Under experimental conditions no less than 600 words per minute have been transmitted over a single wire, while a speed of 400 words per minute can be evenly and safely used in practical working. A very satisfactory result compared with a rate of 60 or 70 words in 1870."

There is another important consideration that should not be lost sight of. The managers of our telegraph object to putting wires under ground. In our cities they form a network that is not only unsightly, but a constant bar to the efficient working of our fire departments, and thus materially increasing the cost of fire insurance. Of the nearly 2000 lines of wire entering the central station in London, not one is open, and some extend underground from 12 to 23 miles from the office. Government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines would quickly settle the question of overhead wires which continues to vex the people of all our larger cities. All the countries of Europe own their telegraph lines. The rates for service are as follows: England, 12 cents for 12 words; Germany, 17 cents for 10 words and a discount of a cent and a quarter for every word less than 10; Italy, 18 cents for 15 words; Switzerland, 10 cents for 10 words; Belgium, 9 cents for 10 words. In France the rate is 10 cents for 10 words within the country, and 2 cents per word from the French-African possessions, a 10-word message from North Africa costing but 20 cents. Distance is not considered in making the rates. No more charge is made for 100 than one mile, the same principle being applied as that governing our postal system. Most of these countries derive a revenue from the service. This is effected by combining the telegraph with the post office. In Italy in 1890 the gross earnings of the lines was \$3,010,974; the expenses \$2,703,137, leaving a net profit of \$306,837. Germany receives a handsome yearly revenue from the service. We have seen the increased business that followed the lowering of rates in England. It has been the same everywhere. In Belgium when the rate was reduced to 10 cents the number of business messages sent increased over 200 per cent, and the number of social messages 1000 per cent.

[To be concluded next week.]

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE JUDICIARY AND REFORM MOVEMENTS.

A Broad Decision of the United States Supreme Court. The Lower Courts under the Influence of Monopolists. A Blow at Free Labor. Note and Comment.

It has been the history of reform in this country that great popular movements have advanced in spite of the judiciary. This is not necessarily a reflection upon the character or motives of our judges. Their function is to interpret statute law, while the function of reform is to amend it.

It is in the nature of things that the judiciary shall fall more and more under a cloud as the great crisis which now confronts us becomes acute. It may be said, however, that the state and lower grades of the federal courts show a greater disposition to be strict constructionists than do the judges on the supreme court bench. The supreme court, for example, made a distinct step upward when it decided in the New York grain elevator cases that the state had the right to regulate the conduct and market prices of any business "affected with a public interest." The first effect of this decision, however, from the highest court in the land has been oppressive to both labor and the smaller producer. It fortifies the position of the interstate commerce commission, whose power is used to keep up freight and passenger rates to a point desired by the railroads. The orange grower of Florida, the wheat farmer of the West, the fruit shippers of the Pacific coast and others know all about the despotism of the railroads now being backed up by interstate commerce commission.

Labor, also, is feeling the heel of a judiciary that interferes usually to fortify the privileges of private corporations. Under a dictum involving a broad principle, the country has seen a narrow interpretation that brings comfort to the very men who are conspiring against the industrial peace of the land. Witness the orders of United States District Judges Taft and Ricks in Ohio concerning the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers last week. Chief Arthur was ordered by the court to revoke the rule of the brotherhood which requires members to refuse to handle the cars of non-union or boycotted railroads. Eight members of the brotherhood who had refused to take out trains at Toledo were arrested. Before the men were bound over Judge Ricks said to them:

You are engaged in a service of a public character, and the public is not only interested in the manner in which you perform your duties while you continue in that service, but is quite as much interested in the time and circumstances under which you quit that employment. You can't always choose your own time and place for terminating the relations. If you were permitted to do so, you might quit your work at a time and place under such circumstances which would involve irreparable damage to your employer,

and jeopardize the lives of the travelling public. This court does not assume the power to compel you to continue your service to your employers against your will, but it does undertake to compel you to perform your whole duty while such relations continue, and does further claim for the purposes of ascertaining whether its orders have been violated the right to determine when your relation to your employer legally terminated and when your obligations to observe this order cease.

This is in strict accordance with the supreme court decision that the authorities can regulate any business affected with a public interest. Judge Ricks granted an order for all Wheeling and Lake Erie engineers to "refrain from refusing" to handle Ann Arbor freight. The names of the engineers were mentioned in the order, and the mere act of a locomotive engineer refusing to work would make him liable to imprisonment for contempt. Chief Arthur revoked a vital rule of his fraternity, therefore, in order to avoid the arrest of scores of his brother locomotive engineers. The effect of this decision and order of the court is to make striking on the part of railroad employees a prisonable offense on the ground that a strike is an assault upon the public, as it interferes with a function on which depends the regular transaction of business.

We do not see how the judges could have escaped the logic of this position. It is very oppressive so far as the employee is concerned, but the judges have now advanced so far in the field of interference with a private business that they have made it impossible for them to refuse to follow out this principle to its legitimate conclusion.

The courts imprison men for striking; they raise street rows of strikers, as at Homestead, from police offenses to treason; how then can they avoid considering the despotic and inhuman treatment of employees by corporations as assaults against the state? Why is not the unreasonable discharge of an employee as much a prisonable offense as the unreasonable refusal to work? A lock-out and a strike stand upon the same ground, and the courts cannot check one and ignore the other.

We are frank to say that the judges are attempting in various decisions to maintain, so far as they are able, the integrity of free competition in business. We however believe we see in the course of the judiciary the doom of competition. If the judges continue true to the doctrine set forth by the majority of the United States Supreme court that the state can regulate the prices and the conduct of any business "affected with a public interest," then in the language of a dissenting minority of that court, it will follow that "Looking Backward is nearer than a dream."

In the subordinate courts the battle from now on will wax hot. The Legislature of Minnesota is bent upon breaking the Siberian rigor of the coal combination which is robbing the people more than a score of tariff laws. The local courts have been appealed to to rescue from the

sergeant-at-arms of the House the books and papers of the general manager of the Minnesota bureau of coal statistics. The motive of the House is patriotic and high, and yet the law of the judge is sound in ordering the House to surrender the books. The judge would punish the sergeant-at-arms for contempt, and the House has summoned the judge to appear before its bar and show cause why he retains the sergeant-at-arms in his custody. Meantime the coal combine has notified the leaders in the Legislature that if they do not withdraw from the fight, the people of Minnesota will be compelled to pay starvation prices for coal hereafter. There is material here for trouble and the courts are fighting against the consumer.

It may be well to note here that the coal combine in Pennsylvania has already set in motion a system that will force other states besides Minnesota to pay tribute. A bill is now before the Pennsylvania Legislature with this enacting clause:

That from and after the first day of July, 1893, it shall be unlawful for any licensed miner or vendor of anthracite coal to sell any anthracite coal to any person or persons, natural or artificial, for transportation or use outside the state of Pennsylvania, for any less sum or price than \$5 per ton of \$2,240 pounds, delivered at the borders of this state.

The Pennsylvania courts, so far as we can judge from recent events, can be relied upon by the combine to lend aid to the aggressions of the coal monopoly. When the Reading road concluded to get time on its overdue obligations and asked for a receivership, a court having the interests of the general public in view would have appointed men versed in railroad affairs but not personally interested in paying dividends upon the well watered stock of that corporation. Instead of this, the Pennsylvania courts promptly appointed as receivers President McLeod of the Reading road, Mr. Wilbur, president of a road leased by the Reading, and Judge Paxton, who hastily resigned his position as chief justice of the state supreme court. This is the judge that instructed the grand jury of Allegheny county to indict Homestead strikers for treason, and he has long been understood to be holder of coal carrying railroad stock in Pennsylvania. The courts of the state have thus fortified a private monopoly and made it more difficult for the consuming public to get fair play.

Between the broad rulings of the United States supreme court and the narrow policy and vision of the judges in the lower courts, the questions of transportation and coal mines will become so involved that the public ownership of both the roads and mines will be a necessity.

Note and Comment.

The promotion of Henry Cabot Lodge from the House to the United States Senate has precipitated a political contest in the 7th Massachusetts district. Gov. Russell

has ordered a special election for April 25. The democrats propose to renominate Dr. Everett, and the republican machine favors William E. Barrett, speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. The populists have concluded to make a fight, and the probability is that the whole district will be canvassed, meetings being held in every town. The notorious author of the force bill leaves his district a good deal demoralized politically, and the time and place are auspicious for instituting a new order of political discussion, — the popular consideration of laws that benefit all the people, rather than a few at the expense of all.

It is worth noting that a large percentage of the Minnesota towns in their recent local elections were lost to both the democratic and republican parties. The successful tickets were either citizens' or people's party.

A special election to fill a vacancy in the Georgia House of Representatives has gone populist. Many Georgia counties were carried by the people's party last month.

Boston Advertiser: Practical people laugh at Mr. Belamy's theories as wild vagaries of a dreamer, but some day those same practical people will be compelled to at least attempt to solve the problem that now vexes the world — the adjustment of social questions. Of course all that can be said has already been said in one way or another by able writers, but nothing has yet been done, and when one reads that the average wages of saleswomen in New York are \$3.50 a week, he must possess a stone in place of a heart if he does not at once feel and admit the horror of it.

There was a meeting of nationalists at 420 Fifth avenue, New York, on the 15th to consider methods of work. Thaddeus B. Wakeman, a member of the national committee for propaganda work, presided and explained the object of the committee. It was decided to hold a series of meetings at private residences, and to promote so far as possible, popular discussions of nationalism and public ownership. Persons interested in the cause throughout the state can address Thaddeus B. Wakeman, 93 Nassau street, New York.

A Cold Cut dinner of nationalists was held at Newark, N. J. on the 16th, when co-operation was the subject of the after dinner speakers. The date of the next dinner is April 13, the subject being the referendum. Persons desiring to attend may address Eltweed Pomeroy, Newark, N. J. There will be a Cold Cut dinner at New Brunswick, April 6.

J. W. Arrowsmith speaks on the referendum and Eltweed Pomeroy on nationalism before the Farmers' alliance at Three Rivers, N. J. this evening.

Mills County Journal (Glenwood, Ia.): One of the most effective planks of the people's party platform is that relating to the government ownership of railroads. Most people, irrespective of party, are beginning to realize the fact that only through the nationalization of railways will the public ever escape from the extortions and injustices inflicted on it by these soulless corporations.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

Boston Herald: We cannot see any reason for changing the position which we have taken from the first — that, if the government is to enter on this large scale into canal construction, it should undertake the work on its own account, without the interference of a private corporation. There would then be no watered stock, no divided interest and responsibility, but the work would be a distinctly public one, undertaken with a single eye to the public good.

In an editorial upon the various plans for rapid transit, the Boston Transcript says: The point has at last been grasped pretty generally that private control of public monopolies doing public services is not strictly public spirited or consistent with any purpose but that of filling private pockets. The legislative committee will of course, be on their guard against committing the city of Boston to enormous expenditures for street making or widening chiefly for the purpose of turning the new streets over to the use and occupancy of a single corporation.

New York.

The companies in the northern part of the state engaged in producing mineral pulp are forming a combination with a capital of two million dollars.

A bill has been presented to the Legislature enabling municipalities to engage in the manufacture and distribution of gas and electricity. The bill has received the endorsement of the State Congress of the Knights of Labor.

Michigan.

The mines in the northern portion of the state producing Bessmer iron ore have entered into a combination for keeping up the prices of ore. The combine is said to be strong enough to dictate terms to the furnace owners.

Minnesota.

The Free Press (Duluth): If a vote were taken on the question of government ownership of telegraphs, there is no doubt but that it would result in a victory for the people by an overwhelming majority. With the telegraph in the hands of the people we may expect that the side of the masses will be faithfully given in the dispatches each day. The ease with which the sentiments of a public mass are distorted and misconstrued will not prevail under government ownership of the telegraph, and we may expect to read less exaggerated reports of public speeches.

Miscellaneous.

The capital of the lumber trust which seems destined to control the lumber business of this country is understood to be 32 million dollars.

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Boston.—First Nationalist Club meets the second Wednesday of each month at 630 Washington street. Public cordially invited.

Boston.—Second Nationalist will meet every Sunday evening in William Parkman Hall, 3 Boylston place. The public are cordially invited.

Needham, Mass.—Nationalist Club holds regular meetings the third Monday in every month. Additional meetings for outside work, as desired. E. P. Washburn, Sec.

Oakland, Cal.—The New Nation Club, business meeting, 1st Monday of each month. Public meeting every Friday at 8 P.M. 865 Broadway. (Reorganized from 1st Nationalist.)

Philadelphia, Pa.—First Nationalist meets 1st and 3d Friday evenings, at Earley's hall, 1321 Arch street.

San Francisco, Cal.—The Pacific Club holds weekly Sunday evening propaganda meetings, at 909½ Market street.

Altruist Meetings are held every Sunday at 3 p. m., in Rooms 55, No. 2 N. 4th street, St. Louis, Mo., for lectures and free discussion on all subjects relating to the welfare and improvement of society. All liberal and progressive men and women are invited. Seats free.

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The author, evidently a practical worker, propounds a novel project for surmounting the chief difficulties in the problem of capital and labor. The characters are typical employers and workmen. — Christian Herald, N. Y., Nov. 16, 1892.

This is a novel with a purpose. and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation. — John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

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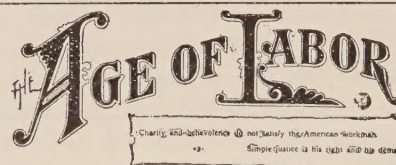
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Lessons in Sanitary Plumbing.

LESSON NO. 8.

Every plumbing fixture should be constructed on the principle of the **FLUSH TANK**, in order that it shall keep the waste pipes clean **AUTOMATICALLY.** This cut represents a section of the

SANITAS KITCHEN SINK.

It consists of the combination of a square flush-pot with an ordinary kitchen sink in such a manner as to provide a sink of the ordinary appearance and form above, but having a deep portion or flush-pot at the end, with an automatic discharge.

An upper, or horizontal strainer, covers the entire flush-pot, and is hinged to one end of the sink, so that it may be opened when it is desired to use the deep part of the sink. The sink is discharged by means of a self-acting siphon, and a vertical strainer is interposed between the flush-pot and its siphon. The short arm of the siphon is trapped with a seal-retaining trap of the Sanitas trap principle, just behind the vertical strainer. This strainer slides upwards in a groove to give access to the trap when desired, but closes again automatically by its own weight as soon as released. Clean-out openings are provided at the trap and wier chamber and give access to every part of the waste system. No bones and solid refuse can be scraped into the discharge outlet and dropped into the waste-pipe, because this pipe ascends instead of descends at the outlet; and should the trap be clogged, it will simply cause the water to cease to flow out until the obstruction is removed, which can easily be done by simply raising the lower strainer and lifting out the obstruction by hand.

Operation of the Sanitas Kitchen Sink and Flush-pot is as follows: The sink is used in the ordinary manner until the flush-pot fills to the height of the siphon overflow. When this point has been reached, the next discharge of a quart or two of water suddenly emptied from the washing-pan charges the siphon and causes the entire contents of the flush-pot to rush out through the waste passages, filling them full bore, and scouring them from end to end. The solid matter and large

lumps of grease will be left on the bottom of the flush-pot, and must be removed by the servant in the proper manner, inasmuch as they cannot possibly be removed in any other manner.

Manufactured and Sold by the

Sanitas Manufacturing Company,

SMITH & ANTHONY STOVE Co., Proprietors, Boston, New York and Chicago.